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Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 IO-13 OMB-01 CU-02 /071 W
----------020815Z 090673 /17
P R 020720Z MAY 77
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7706
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0867

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJ: FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF MAO'S "PERSONAL SELECTION" OF HUA: "WITH YOU IN CHARGE I'M AT EASE"

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. WHILE PEKING'S PARTY ORGAN PEOPLE'S DAILY AND OFFICIAL RADIO IGNORED THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S APRIL 30, 1976 LEGITIMIZING QUOTATION TO HUA KUO-FENG -- "WITH YOU IN CHARGE I'M AT EASE" -- PEKING'S KUANGMING DAILY SPLASHED IT OVER PAGE ONE. THE KUANGMING DAILY'S EDITORIAL BOARD, IN AN APPARENT RIPOSTE TO PARTY LEADERS OPPOSED TO CONTINUED OFFICIAL PUBLICITY FOR THE QUOTE, CONSTRUCTED AROUND MAO'S "GOLDEN AND SHINING SIX WORDS" AN ARTICLE MENTIONING HUA 45 TIMES. WHILE THE KUANGMING DAILY WAS PORTRAYING HUA AS A DECISIVE AND EFFECTIVE LEADER IN THE MAO MOLD, THE APRIL 30 PEOPLE'S DAILY FEATURED AN ARTICLE TACITLY DOWNPLAYING HUA'S LEADERSHIP BY APPROVING THE
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PARTY'S TRADITION OF "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM". END SUMMARY.

2. APRIL 30 MARKED THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF MAO'S SCRIBBLED MESSAGE OF CONFIDENCE TO HUA KUO-FENG "WITH YOU IN CHARGE I'M AT EASE." CITED OFTEN TO JUSTIFY HUA'S ELEVATION TO PARTY CHAIRMAN IN THE THREE MONTHS FOLLOWING THE PURGE OF THE GANG OF FOUR (OCTOBER 6), THE QUOTATION FELL INTO DISUSE

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IN EARLY 1977, APPARENTLY OWING TO LEADERSHIP DISAGREEMENT
OVER ITS ORIGIN, CREDIBILITY, AND SUITABILITY IN THE CURRENT
POLITICAL CONTENT. ACCORDING TO HONG KONG'S INDEPENDENT
MING PAO, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRO-TENG HSIAO-PING HIERARCHY
IN CANTON ADDRESSED A LETTER TO THE CENTRAL LEADERSHIP
EARLY THIS YEAR CHALLENGING CONTINUED QUOTATION OF THE
SIX CHINESE CHARACTERS, "NO MATTER HOW BRILLIANT AND
GLEAMING". TO HIGHLIGHT MAO'S BRILLIANCE ON APRIL 30,
THE TACIT ARGUMENT RAN, WOULD IMMEASURABLY COMPLICATE
REVERSAL OF MAO'S EARLIER DECISION (APRIL 6) TO PURGE
TENG HSIAO-PING.

3. OFFICIAL HANDLING OF THE ANNIVERSARY SEEMINGLY REFLECTS
CONTINUING LEADERSHIP CONTROVERSY AND DIVISION OVER THE QUOTE --
AND BY EXTENSION OVER THE POSITION AND AUTHORITY OF HUA KUO-FENG.
IGNORED TOTALLY ON APRIL 30 BY THE PARTY ORGAN PEOPLE'S DAILY,
BY NCNA, AND BY PEKING RADIO, THE ANNIVERSARY AND THE QUOTE
ITSELF WERE SPLASHED ACROSS PAGE ONE OF PEKING'S OTHER OFFICIAL
DAILY, KUANGMING JIHPAO. IT APPEARED IN THE FRONT-PAGE BOX
RESERVED FOR MAO, MARX, LENIN AND HUA QUOTATIONS AND WAS THE
SUBJECT OF AN ARTICLE BY THE PAPER'S EDITORIAL BOARD.
(ACCORDING TO MAY 2 PEKING RADIO, HOWEVER, THE MAY 2
PEOPLE'S DAILY NOTES THE QUOTATION).

4. THE EDITORIAL BOARD PIECE CONTRIBUTES MIGHTILY TO THE
INCIPIENT HUA KUO-FENG CULT, MENTIONING HUA NO LESS THAN
45 TIMES. IN WHAT SEEMS AN EXPLICIT REBUTTAL TO SOME,
THE EDITORIAL BOARD DESCRIBES MAO'S QUOTE TO HUA AS "SIX
GOLDEN AND SHINING BIG CHARACTERS." THE THREE CITATIONS
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OF THE QUOTATION COUPLED WITH STACCATO MENTIONS OF MAO
(SOME 44 TIIES COUNTING HIS THOUGHT AND WORKS) AND
HUA ADD UP TOA SOLITARY POINT: HUA'S PERFORMANCE OVER
THE PAST YEAR "PROVES" THAT MAO CHOSE HIS SUCCESSOR
WISELY AND CORRECTLY.

5. THE CASE FOR HUA AS "WORTHY SUCCESSOR" IS PEGGED TO:
--GROOMING BY AND CONSISTENT SUPPORT FOR MAO IN THE 50S AND 60S;
MAO'S "PERSONAL SELECTION" OF HUA AS EVIDENCED BY THE QUOTE
"WITH YOU IN CHARGE I'M AT EASE";
HUA'S ADOPTION OF "DECISIVE MEASURES" TO FULFILL MOA'S
ALLEGED WISH TO RID THE PARTY OF THE "GANT OF FOUR";
HUA'S "PERSONAL GRASPING" OF IMPORTANT NATIONAL MEETINGS;
HUA'S REFLECTION OF THE "INTERESTS AND ASPIRATIONS" OF THE
PEOPLE: AND
HUA'S APPROACHABILITY, DEMOCRATIC AIR, SKILL AT INVESTIGATION
AND RESEARCH, WILLINGNESS TO LISTEN TO ALL OPINIONS, AND
ABILITY TO UNITED WITH COMRADES.

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6. IN THIS RECITATION OF HUA'S YEAR-LONG MANIFESTATION OF "SUPERIOR ABILITY" THERE IS ONLY ONE SUGGESTION OF TROUBLES SIMMERING BENEATH THE SURFACE. HUA'S ABILITIES, IT IS ASSERTED, WERE "ESPECIALLY" APPARENT IN THE MIDST OF A "COMPLICATED SITUATION," WHERE HUA SHOWED HIMSELF ABLE TO "GRASP THE KEY LINK" AND "ADVANCE THE WHOLE SITUATION". THE COMPLICATED SITUATION PRESUMABLY REFERS, AT LEAST IN PART, TO THE STILL UNRESOLVED ISSUE OF TENG HSIAO-PING, THE HANDLING OF MAO'S ROLE IN THE POLITICAL EVENTS OF 1976, AND THE QUESTION OF CONTINUING FACTIONAL DIVISIONS WITHIN THE PLA.

7. IT IS ALL THE MORE STRIKING THAT THE APRIL 30 PEOPLE'S DAILY, WHILE IGNORING THE LEGITIMIZING QUOTE, RAN AN ARTICLE BY THE PSEUDONYMOUS JEN LI ENTITLED "WE CERTAINLY MUST STRENGTHEN THE PARTY'S SYSTEM OF DEMOCRATTIC CENTRALISM". IN GLARING BUT NOT NECESSARILY DELIBERATE --
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CONTRAST TO THE KUANGMING DAILY'S STRESS ON THE INDIVIDUAL LEADER HUA,

THE JEN LI ARTICLE MANIFESTS A PREFERENCE FOR THE COLLECTIVE FORMULA "THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITH CHAIRMAN HUA AS ITS HEAD". JEN LI'S CHOICE OF A MAO QUOTE TO SUPPORT ITS THEME IS ALSO OF INTEREST AS A COUNTERPOINT TO THEC GROWING CULT OF HUA: "WITHOUT DEMOCRACY IT IS IMPOSSIBLE THAT THERE CAN BE CORRECT CENTRALIZATION."
GATES

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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